

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AF-10 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 SAJ-01 NIC-01

ACDA-19 TRSE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

----- 008373

R 221510Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1245

INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL JERSALEM

USINT ALGIERS BY POUCH

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JERSUALEM FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR LY UR

SUBJECT: LIBYAN-SOVIET JOINT COMMUNIQUE

REF: TRIPOLI 529

1. SUMMARY: ON EVIDENCE OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE, JALLUD'S TALKS WITH SOVIET LEADERS DID NOT FULFILL ALL OF HIGH LIBYAN HOPES FOR THEM. THERE IS NO REFERENCE TO MILITARY COOPERATION, CRITICISM OF U.S. BY NAME, OR ADVERSE REFERENCE TO SECRETARY'S PEACE EFFORTS. LIBYAN AND SOVIET VERSIONS OF COMMUNIQUE DIFFER SIGNIFICANTLY IN SECTIONS ON ARAB UNITY AND MIDEAST SETTLEMENTS. NO CONCRETE

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MENT, AS WELL AS IN OTHER MINOR RESPECTS. NO CONCRETE

TRADE DEALS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN STRUCK, ALTHOUGH JOINT COMMISSION IS FORMED TO DEVELOP ECONOMIC COOPERATION. END SUMMARY.

2. LENGTHY SOVIET-LIBYAN COMMUNIQUE DOES NOT SEEM TO FULFILL LIBYAN HOPES FOR JALLUD VISIT, WHICH WERE HIGH. LIBYANS SEEMED, FROM PRESS COMMENT HERE WHICH PRECEDED VISIT, TO ASSUME THAT SOVIETS SHARED THEIR ALL-OUT OPPOSITION TO U.S. PEACE EFFORTS, AND TO HAVE EXPECTED THAT THIS PRESUMED CONJUNCTION OF INTERESTS WOULD RESULT IN NEW ARMS DEALS AND POLITICAL SUPPORT. THEY MAY ALSO HAVE EXPECTED THAT QADHAFI'S OPPOSITION TO U.S.-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP HAD EARNED THEM POINTS WITH SOVIETS, WHICH COULD BE TURNED TO POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. IF SUCH INDEED WERE THEIR EXPECTATIONS, AS WE READ IT, JOINT COMMUNIQUE GIVES LIBYANS LITTLE TO BE ENTHUSED ABOUT. IT CONTAINS NO REFERENCE TO MILITARY COOPERATION, ALTHOUGH JALLUD WAS REPORTED HERE TO HAVE MET WITH MARSHAL GRECHKO. NOR DOES IT CONTAIN ANY DIRECT CRITICISM OF U.S. BY NAME OR ADVERSE REFERENCE TO SECRETARY'S MEDIATION. TWO SIDES DID SIGN TRADE AGREEMENT IN WHICH "THEY RE-AFFIRM THEIR INTENTION" TO DEVELOP TRADE, BUT ANY SPECIFIC AGREEMENT IS APPARENTLY TO BE LATER PRODUCT OF DELIBERATIONS OF JOINT COMMISSION ON "ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION". THIS COOPERATION IS TO BE ON BASIS OF AGREEMENT TWO SIDES CONCLUDED MARCH 4, 1972, MILITARY ASPECTS OF WHICH WERE REPORTEDLY NOT IMPLEMENTED TO LIBYAN SATISFACTION.

3. SIGNIFICANTLY, TASS VERSION OF COMMUNIQUE AS REPORTED BY FBIS AND ARABIC TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED IN PRESS HERE DISAGREE IN IMPORTANT RESPECTS, PARTICULARLY IN SECTIONS DEALING WITH ARAB UNITY AND MIDEAST SETTLEMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, TASS VERSION OF ONE PASSAGE READS "THE TWO SIDES NOTED AN IMPORTANT ROLE PLAYED BY REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE ARAB PEOPLES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REACTION, IMPERIALISM, AND ZIONISM"; LIBYAN VERSION OF SAME PASSAGE READS "(THE SOVIET SIDE) APPRECIATED THE IMPORTANT ROLE PLAYED BY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE ARAB REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND THE ENDEAVORS IT IS MAKING TO ACHIEVE ARAB UNITY, IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST REACTION, IMPERIALISM, AND ZIONISM". IN ANOTHER PASSAGE, "ARAB NATION" (LIBYAN VERSION) BECOMES "ARAB PEOPLES" (TASS), AND TASS GOES ON TO SAY THAT "THE STRENGTHENING OF THE UNITY OF ACTION BY ARABS ON THE BASIS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND DEMOCRACY IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. . .", WHERE LIBYAN VERSION HAS "NECESSITY

OF UNITED ARAB ACTION", AND ADDS FOLLOWING WHICH NOT IN TASS VERSION: "BOTH SIDES SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB PEOPLE (SINGULAR) TOWARD THE GOAL OF ACHIEVING TOTAL ARAB UNITY ON THE BASIS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND DEMOCRACY". THERE ARE ALSO SIGNIFICANT DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN TWO TEXTS IN PASSAGE ON MIDEAST. TASS VERSION READS: "HAVING POINTED OUT THAT THE DANGEROUS AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AFFECTS SECURITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA, THE SIDES IN THIS CONNECTION EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM WILL PROMOTE THE RELAXATION OF TENSION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN. THEY COME OUT FOR ELIMINATION OF THE FOREIGN BASES, WHICH JEOPARDIZE PEACE AND SECURITY IN THAT AREA, AND WHICH STAND IN THE WAY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT. THEY EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA WILL BECOME A SEA OF PEACE, SECURITY, AND TRANQUILLITY." LIBYAN VERSION READS: "BOTH SIDES REFERRED TO THE DANGEROUS AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION IN PALESTINE AND THE SURROUNDING AREA, WHICH AFFECTS THE SECURITY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND EXPRESS THEIR HOPE THAT THIS SEA WILL BECOME A SEA OF PEACE AND TRANQUILLITY AND A FACTOR FOR CALM AND STABILITY. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR CONVICTION THAT A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE AND THE SURROUNDING AREA WILL CONTRIBUTE TO A LESSENING OF THE LEVEL OF TENSION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA. BOTH SIDES CALL FOR ELIMINATION OF ALL FOREIGN BASES, WHICH MENACE THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE AREA AND HINDER ITS DEVELOPMENT". FOR LIBYANS, OF COURSE, "A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE" IS PRESUMABLY A DIFFERENT MATTER THAN A "SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDEAST PROBLEM" IS FOR SOVIETS. THE TWO TEXTS CONTAIN OTHER MINOR DIFFERENCES IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LANGUAGE WHICH MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THERE MUST HAVE BEEN SOME HARD BARGAINING INVOLVED. BOTH TEXTS REFER TO ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL TO 1967 BORDERS, WHICH LIBYANS HAVE NOT, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, PREVIOUSLY CALLED FOR PUBLICLY.

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4. FIRST LIBYAN REACTION TO COMMUNIQUE TOOK FORM OF
AUTHORITATIVE EDITORIAL IN DAILY "AL FAJR AL JADID"
MAY 22, OF KIND IN PAST ATTRIBUTED TO QADHAFI. IT
REFERS, WITH CAUTIOUS APPROVAL, TO "WIDE HORIZONS FOR
COOPERATION" OPENED UP BY JALLUD'S VISIT, AND REPEAT-
EDLY SPEAKS OF "MUTUAL RESPECT" WHICH MUST CHARACTERIZE
LIBYAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. WHOEVER WROTE EDITORIAL WAS
EVIDENTLY WORKING FROM LIBYAN TEXT, SINCE HE REFERS
TO SOVIET SUPPORT FOR ARAB UNITY. EDITORIALIST
SPEAKS HOPEFULLY OF "PROGRESSIVE FRONT" WHICH "ARAB
LIBERATION MOVEMENT" AND USSR COULD FORM, AND SAYS
THAT "ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE" JALLUD'S VISIT
ACHIEVED THIS TO A "SATISFACTORY" EXTENT.

5. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH IT IS OBVIOUSLY EARLY TO JUDGE,
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IT APPEARS THAT "PROGRESSIVE FRONT" LIBYANS HOPED TO
FORM WITH SOVIETS HAS YET TO MATERIALIZE. THERE
REMAIN CONSIDERABLE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
TWO SIDES, AND ABSENCE OF ANY REFERENCE IN COMMUNIQUE

TO MILITARY COOPERATION, DESPITE JALLUD'S MEETING WITH
MARSHAL GRECHKO, LEAVES ROOM FOR DOUBT AS TO HOW
MUCH MILITARY EQUIPMENT SOVIETS AGREED TO SELL.
LIBYANS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN ANXIOUS IN PAST TO BUY
ADVANCED WEAPONS, INCLUDING LATEST MIGS. WHILE THERE
PROBABLY WILL BE SOME DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC CO-
OPERATION AS RESULT JALLUD'S VISIT, THERE MAY ALSO BE
SOMETHING OF BACKLASH ON LIBYANS PART IF, AS IT
APPEARS, THEIR HIGH HOPES FOR VISIT TURN OUT TO BE
DISAPPOINTED IN OTHER RESPECTS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY ASSISTANCE, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT VISITS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, COMMUNIQUE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 MAY 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974TRIPOL00559
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740128-0979
From: TRIPOLI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740525/aaaaavvo.tel
Line Count: 234
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: TRIPOLI 529
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 APR 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <03 MAR 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LIBYAN-SOVIET JOINT COMMUNIQUE
TAGS: PFOR, LY, UR, (JALLUD, ABD AL-SALAM)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005